EARLY ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE THE CULTIVATION OF HEMP

IN EASTERN BRITISH AMERICA.

A Paper Read before the New Brunswick Historical Society.

By JONAS HOWE,

Corresponding Secretary New Brunswick Historical Society.

The cultivation of hemp was early attempted or suggested by the first colonizers of this portion of the American continent, and in nearly all of the old works relating to the early settlement of northeastern America, reference is frequently made to the importance of its cultivation and the benefits that would in consequence result to a maritime people. Richard Hakluyt, the industrious and enthusiastic compiler of early voyages, in his Discourse Concerning Westerne Planting, written and presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1584, mentions among the probable important products of "New founde lande," hemp for making cables and cordage. And in another chapter of his discourse, he recommends that the "multitude of loyterers and idle vagabonds" then infesting England be transported and "condemned for certain yeers in the western partes, especially in Newefounde lande, in sawinge and fellinge of tymber for mastes of shippes and deale boordes; in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche, tarr and rosen and sope ashes; in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage."

Hemp was raised and spun in Virginia previous to 1648, and in 1651 its cultivation was encouraged in that colony by bounties offered by government.

In the Plymouth colony the cultivation of hemp was also attempted, as hemp-seed was ordered for that colony as early as 1620.

But a species of native hemp may have been grown in the northern parts of this continent, for it is related that Jacques Cartier, on his first voyage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in 1534, met native Indians in the Bay of Chaleur fishing with nets made of a kind of hemp. [Rev. B. F. DeCosta in Narrative and Critical History of America.]

The early French explorers attached great importance to the lands visited by Cartier and his successors, and justly formed a high estimate of the vast resources of our Acadia. Sieur Borgier of Rochelle, one of the early grantees of Acadia, on a visit to our coast in 1684, planted at Chedabucto Bay, on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, wheat, rye and barley, and in the autumn reaped the harvest and carried the produce to France for exhibition. Flax, hemp, peas, beans and all kinds of vegetables, Sieur Borgier asserted, grew there, as well as they did in the neighborhood of Paris.

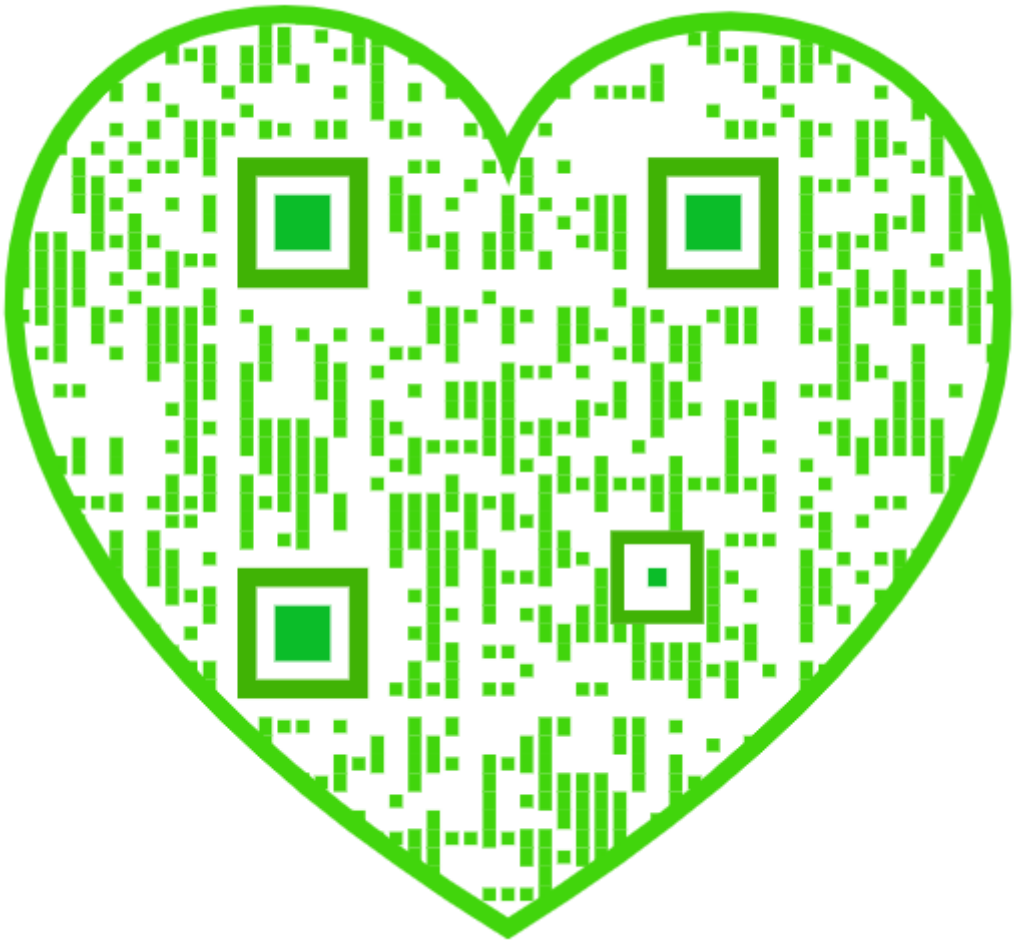
M. de la Ronde Denys, a captain of infantry in the French army, and grandson of Nicholas Denys, the first historian of Acadia, writing from Cape Breton in 1713, says: "We are deficient in nothing required, for we have the wood, the tar, the coal, and the masting, and eventually the hemp will be common there to make cordage and sails."

The fall and capture of Port Royal by the English under Nicholson in 1710 made Nova Scotia a part of the British empire, the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, having confirmed the conquest. In 1718 Sir Alexander Cairnes, James Douglas and Joshua Gee petitioned the crown for a grant of land on the sea coast, five leagues southwest and five leagues northeast of Chebucto, now Halifax, harbor. These gentlemen proposed to build a town, and improve the country round it in raising hemp and in making pitch, tar and turpentine. The petition was not granted; and no attempt at settlement was made at Chebucto until 1749, when Halifax was founded by English settlers under Cornwallis. Three years previous to this event, in the autumn of 1746, the duke d'Anville, on his ill-fated expedition against the English settlements on the Atlantic coast, rendezvoused at Chebucto with the remainder of his fleet, where the unfortunate duke and many of his solders died.

During this period the English lords of trade were continually urging on the colonies the importance of producing hemp in such quantities as to render England independent of the northern countries of Europe for a supply of that material so necessary to a naval power, and Dr. Douglas, the author of a work entitled, A Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting of the British Settlements in America, mentions hemp among other articles, the product of the colonies, on which all enumerations, or duties, be taken off to encourage trade and navigation.

On the 8th of April, 1752, three years after the settlement of Halifax, the governor and council of Nova Scotia, who were vested with the powers of legislation, among other bounties granted to stimulate and encourage agriculture among the settlers, offered 3d. per pound for hemp produced in that province.

Vigorous efforts were made during these years to people the province, particularly the lands from which the Acadian French



were so ruthlessly driven. The fall of Quebec and the conquest of Canada brought peace to Nova Scotia, as well as to all the possessions of the English on this continent, and among the inducements offered to settlers to come and possess the rich lands near the Bay of Fundy, they were assured that those lands had produced "wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, etc , for more than 100 years past, never failing of crops nor needing to be manured." [Murdock's History of Nova Scotia.]

We find no record, for some years after the conquest, of efforts made or suggestions offered in reference to the cultivation of hemp in these provinces. The revolutionary controversy and the struggle for independence involved the scant population of Acadia to some extent in that contest, and the influx of the Loyalists at its close gave great impetus and growth to our industries and added vastly to our commercial importance, and efforts were again made by the British government to extend the cultivation of hemp in the remaining loyal colonies. Scattered through the Haldimand papers (dominion archives) will be found frequent reference to the cultivation of this important article, and the anxiety evinced by British statesmen at the close of the last century to render the empire independent of foreign powers for its supply of this necessary and important naval requisite is apparent in all of these communications. And it was even suggested by some of the writers that persons conversant with the cultivation and preparation of hemp be selected in Russia and Poland and sent to these provinces to teach the inhabitants the best methods then in use in northern Europe. England, as mistress of the seas, was soon to be engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain her supremacy against powerful enemies, and it was only natural she should look to her own loyal kith and kin in these provinces for support in the day of trial.

In 1788 premiums were offered in Nova Scotia for the cultivation of hemp, but little progress was apparently made, as the quantity produced does not appear to have been large, and in 1801 Sir John Wentworth, by direction of the British secretary of state for the colonies, again recommended its cultivation, and the sum of £200 was voted by the Nova Scotia legislature to buy hemp seed for distribution among the farmers of that province, but we have no knowledge of the progress made or quantity produced during those years.

No attempt of which we have any record seems to have been made in New Brunswick to introduce the cultivation of hemp until the year 1803—twenty-five years after the landing of the loyalists. On the 11th of March, 1803, during the session of the general assembly at Fredericton, the following message from Governor Thomas Carleton was communicated to the house ofassembly:

"The lieutenant-governor informs the house that his majesty's ministers have, in their communications to him, pointed out the importance of giving all practical encouragement to the raising of hemp in this province; he therefore recommends to the consideration of the house the making of some provision for granting bounties for this purpose, being confident of their zeal to contribute, as far as may be in their power, to an object so interesting to the national welfare."

The suggestion contained in Governor Carleton's message was acted on, and on Tuesday, March 15th, 1803, the following resolutions were passed by the house of assembly, and afterwards concurred in by the legislative council:

Whereas, the growth and culture of hemp in this province would be of great national advantage;

Resolved, that a bounty of thirty pounds be granted to the person who within four years shall in any one year raise the greatest quantity of merchantable hemp in this province, provided the same exceed one ton.

That a bounty of twenty pounds be granted to the person who within the same period as aforesaid, shall raise the next greatest quantity of the same article in this province, provided the same exceed half a ton.

That a bounty of ten pounds be granted to the person who within the same period as aforesaid, shall raise the next greatest quantity of the same article in this province, provided the same exceed a quarter of a ton.

That a further bounty of ten pounds per ton be granted for every ton of merchantable hemp r ised within the same period as aforesaid in this province.

That a bounty of twenty pounds be granted to such person as shall import into this province forty bushels of good new, clean hemp seed and distribute the same to the inhabitants of this province in his discretion as the same may be called for.

Resolved, that this house will make provision for payment of the bounties aforesaid, when the same may be required, and proper vouchers and certificates from the justices of the common pleas in the respective counties in favor of the person claiming the same, shall be produced.

We are unable now to state to what extent the cultivation of hemp was encouraged by the bounties offered, as we have not had an opportunity to search the records of our province to ascertain, but in the published proceedings of the legislative council—the only record to which we have had access—there is no mention of further action on the part of our provincial authorities relative to the subject.

On the 29th of July, 1808, Colonel Edward Goldstone Lutwyche was appointed agent for New Brunswick in Great Britain, and the Hon. George Leonard and the Hon. Ward Chipman appointed a committee to correspond with Colonel Lutwyche. Among the subjects that early claimed the attention of the committee of correspondence was the cultivation and preparation of hemp in this province. On the 5th of September, 1808, the committee wrote Colonel Lutwyche the following letter, marked No. 2, on this important subject, and which has not heretofore been printed:

St. John, N. B., 5th Sepr., 1808.

Dear Sir—From the royal instructions that have been from time to time given respecting grants of land, and from the intimations of government on other occasions, it appears to be an object of great magnitude to encourage the culture of hemp in these provinces; and the late interruption of the friendiy intercourse between Great Britain and Russia must have increased the importance of having a resource within his majesty's dominions for the supply of an article so essential to the maritime interests of the nation. From the experiments that have been already made, it has been ascertained beyond a doubt that a great proportion of the land in this country is peculiarly adapted to the growth of this article, but the difficulty of producing it in any considerable quantity fit for market arises from a want of sufficient knowledge of the mode of dressing it, and a sufficient capital to procure the necessary hands and implements for this purpose, no individual having it in his power to engage in so expensive a speculation without public aid. If the government, therefore, is desirous of availing itself of this country for a supply of hemp, some method must be fallen upon to procure and send out at the public expence a number of settlers from the north of Germany acquainted with the best manner of raising, curing and dressing it, and to furnish them with seed and proper implements for the purpose.

There is no doubt that land already fit for its cultivation might be procured on which to make a fair experiment, and the produce would probably in the course of a few years repay all the expense that the government would be at; and in case of success, the example would stimulate others to engage in a similar undertaking, so as gradually to make this article one of the most valuable staple commodities of this and the neighboring provinces. If these suggestions should be thought worthy of attention, the commander-in-chief of the province might be instructed to look out for and provide a proper place whereon to fix a company of settlers of this description; and the business, while in such a course of experiment, might be managed under the direction of such an overseer as he might think fit to employ, government sustaining the loss or reaping the profits that might be derived from a speculation so much beyond the abilities of any person here to engage in at his own risk.

After considerable discussion of the subject here, the result of the opinions seems to be that in some such way as this only can a measure of so much importance be tried with any probability of success. We have, therefore, thought it our duty to make it the subject of a letter to you that it may be fairly brought before his majesty's ministers for their consideration, if no material objection should arise in your mind after due deliberation and inquiry, to make the requisite communications on the subject.

We have the honor to be, etc., etc.,

(Signed) George Leonard,
Ward Chipman.

E. G. Lutwyche.

To this letter Colonel Lutwyche made the following reply:

The Hon'bles George Leonard and Ward Chipman:

Gentlemen—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2, and the duplicate, and having several times conversed with Lord Sheffield on the subject of cultivating hemp in the British colonies, I communicated it to his lordship as a probable means of furthering your views, in answer to which he says:

"I have repeatedly endeavored to promote the encouragement of the growth of hemp in the British colonies. I have recommended the culture on various occasions by several applications, and particularly when I was president of the board of agriculture; but I observed among men in office a grave distrust of the opinion that hemp could be raised to advantage, or in any material quantity, in our colonies. It appears to me from the many papers I have read on the subject, that the great desideratum would be to procure persons from hence and from Germany who understand the dressing of hemp. Ministers will object to the expense, unless they were convinced of the advantage to be derived from it. I shall not probably settle in London till the first week in February, when I shall be ready to assist in a measure that may prove beneficial not only to the British colonies, but to the empire at large."

Under the circumstance of his lordship having failed in his representations, and his readiness to co-operate with me, I have thought it most prudent to postpone the application until his return, when if there is a chance of succeeding, it will be much increased. Ministers must now be convinced of the necessity, as well as policy, of being independent of foreign states, for an article of the first necessity to a maritime country like this, and therefore they will require to be convinced of the probability of deriving a supply from the colonies to induce them to afford proper encouragement.

I understand the matter will be referred to the board of trade, and their decision will most probably regulate the conduct of the ministers.

Perhaps before the sailing of the next packet I may be enabled to give you some further information on the subject.

I have the honour to be, gent.'s,

Your most h'ble serv't,

E. G. Lutwyche.

Kensington, 10th Jan'y., 1809.

The correspondence on the subject seems to have ended with this letter, but the dis-

cussion continued in England. Nathaniel Atcheson, F. A. S., the eminent writer on colonial affairs, that year (1808) published his celebrated book, American Encroachments on British Rights, or observations on the importance of the British North American colonies, and thus refers to the efforts made to encourage the culture of hemp inthese provinces:

"It has long been an object of the government of this country to promote and encourage the cultivaion of hemp and flax in the British colonies in America, and for that purpose bounties have been given and various means adopted to attain an object of such importance as that of raising, within the British empire, these two valuable materials; and there can be no doubt that if measures are now adopted to secure the home market to the growers of them for a reasonable period, such extended cultivation and improved management will take place as will render Great Britain in a few years independent of foreign countries for these raw materials of her manufactures."

. . . . . .

"Within the last two years proper persons have been appointed by government to superintend and aid the exertions of the colonists who might be induced to cultivate this article in Canada; but the encouragement hitherto afforded has not been considered adequate or likely to induce the generality of landholders to engage extensively in the cultivation of hemp. It has unfortunately happened that of the hemp seed sent out to this colony a considerable part turned out to be kiln-dried. The soil for hemp should be rich, deep, light and moderately dry. Of this description much can be found on the banks of the creeks and rivers in Canada. Upper Canada, from the nature of its soil and climate, has been thought to be peculiarly well adapted to the cultivation of hemp, and some good samples have been produced and brought from thence. Whether it will ever become an article of general cultivation in this province is dubious from the high price of labor and the loss it is supposed a farmer would sustain by the cultivation of hemp instead of wheat and other grain. This apprehension, however, does not apply to New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, where the lands are equally good and calculated for the cultivation of this valuable article, and where it appears experiments have been made with success and profit."

Nothing further was done in New Brunswick relative to this matter of hemp culture, and as trouble was even then brewing with our neighbors—the United States—the subject it seems was not again referred to, as matters of more vital importance to our provincial rulers soon engrossed their attention at home. In 1812 war was declared against England by the United States, and enterprises of this nature had to be abandoned, and when peace was restored the subject of hemp culture does not appear to have been again brought prominently before our people. In the meantime the march of maritime progress and enterprise brought other materials into active competition, and the fine manilla hemp from the Phillippine Isles superseded that grown in northern climes, and its cultivation no longer became a matter of national importance to our naval authorities.

In seeking information on this interesting subject, the writer addressed a communication to Julius L. Inches, Esq., secretary of agriculture for New Brunswick, probably the best authority in this province, and was favored with the following information relative to the cultivation of hemp in New Brunswick during recent years:

OFFICE FOR AGRICULTURE,
FREDERICTON, N. B., March 21, 1892.

In regard to the cultivation of hemp in New Brunswick there is very little information to be had; in recent times it has not been cultivated to any extent except in the French settlements bordering on the Gulf of St. Lawrence and in Madawaska county, and they raise it for their own use only. There is no effort to make a business of it. There is no difficulty about its growing in this province, but I do not look upon it as an industry that can be made profitable, or indeed prosecuted to any great extent under present circumstances. Labor is too dear with us to make it remunerative, and it is not probable it will be more plenty in the near future. The French settlers cultivate the plant in small patches for their own use without any effort to make it pay by selling a portion of the crop. The labor is principally done by the females, who do not think of trying any of the new modes of working land or harvesting crops. I do not know of any published articles that can be got from which you might obtain any information. I remember, a long time back, that it was proposed to stimulate the production of hemp, but without any satisfactory results, and in recent years it is never mentioned or named as one of the subjects for consideration. ——

NOTE.—The writer has quoted freely from Beamish Murdock's History of Nova Scotia.

The writer is indebted to Anthony Atcheson Esq., of the customs department, grandson of Nathaniel Atcheson, F. A. S., for the use of the copy of American Encroachments on British Rights, from which the quotations inserted in this paper were taken. The volume was the author's private copy, and contains notes and corrections in the handwriting of that distinguished writer, and is marked with his book-plate and autograph.

To I. DeLancey Robinson, Esq., of Fredericton, the writer is also indebted for valuable information.

Before closing this portion of the paper we must refer to a phase of the question heretofore omitted. After the peace of 1763 a number of grants were given to prominent persons in the other colonies of large areas of land in Nova Scotia. Among the conditions imposed on the grantees of these early grants by government, "they were to plant, within ten years from the date of the grant, one rood to every 1,000 acres with hemp, and to keep a like quantity of land planted during the successive years." (Patterson's History of the County of Pictou.) But this condition was not complied with, and a witty member of the Nova Scotia legislature—Lawrence Doyle—publicly stated before that body, three-quarters of a century after these grants were given, that there was not sufficient hemp raised in Nova Scotia for criminal purposes.

THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

Hon. Ward Chipman, the elder, was born in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and graduated at Harvard University in 1770. Sabine says: "In 1775 he was driven from his habitation to Boston, and was one of the eighteen country gentlemen who that year were addressers of General Gage." He left Boston with the British army at the evacuation in 1776, and went to Halifax and from thence to England. But the life history of this remarkable man, whose name is so intimately interwoven in the early annals of New Brunswick, can not been given in this short sketch. Rambling through the Rural cemetery last autumn the writer came unexpectedly upon the tomb of Ward Chipman, and copied the epitaph, composed evidently by his equally celebrated son, Ward Chipman, junior, and it will take the place of a more extended sketch: "This monument is erected over the remains of the Honorable Ward Chipman, Esquire, who was born in the province of Massachusetts Bay, on the 30th of July, 1754, and died at Fredericton, in this province, on the 8th February, 1824. He was a graduate of Harvard university and educated to the profession of the law. Retaining his loyalty to his sovereign, he was obliged to abandon his native land on the evacuation of Boston in the year 1776. Having repaired to England, and the royal bounty bestowed on him a pension, in common with a long list of his suffering fellow-countrymen. But a state of inaction being ill-suited to his ardent mind, in less than a year he relinquished his pension and rejoined the king's troops at New York, where he was employed in a military department and in the practice of the court of admiralty until the peace of 1783. On the first erection of this province in 1784 he was appointed solicitor general, and continually afterwards bore a conspicuous and most useful part in its affairs as an advocate at the bar, a member of the house of assembly, a member of his majesty's council, a judge of the supreme court, and agent on the part of his majesty before several commissions for settling disputed points of boundary with the United States, until he closed his mortal career, while administering the government of this province as president and commander-in-chief during a vacancy in the office of lieutenant governor. Distinguished during the whole of his varied and active life for superior abilities and unwearable zeal, for genuine integrity and singular humanity and benevolence, his loss was universally deplored; and this frail tribute from his nearest connexions affords but a feeble expression of the affectionate respect with which they cherish the memory of his virtues."

The biography of Ward Chipman has yet to be written, and whoever undertakes that task, will find the materials scattered through the early records of this province and the colonial records in London, and the subject one of intense fascination. Let us hope that a writer equal to the task may be forthcoming before some of the evidences of his genius and talents are scattered or destroyed, that posterity may know what this brilliant Loyalist accomplished for British power on this continent.

HON. GEORGE LEONARD,

was also a Massachusetts Loyalist and was connected during the revolutionary war with Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman. He was an active Loyalist and a prominent member of the Associated Refugees and Loyalists of New York, and was second in command of the expedition fitted out in that city in 1779 to occupy Nantucket Island. This expedition was commanded by Edward Winslow, and an account of it is given in Macy's History of Nantucket Island. Mr. Leonard came to New Brunswick in 1783 and was appointed one of the agents to locate lands granted to Loyalists, and in 1791 was made a member of the legislative council of the province. He died at Sussex Vale in 1826. Richard Leonard, a son of the Hon. Geo. Leonard, was an officer of the 104th regiment and served with that corps of New Brunswickers during the war of 1812, and died at Lundy's Lane, in the province of Upper Canada, in 1833.

NEW BRUNSWICK PROVINCE AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1783 TO 1830.

The first agent appointed for the province of New Brunswick in Great Britain was the celebrated Brook Watson, the Cumberland county boy who became lord mayor of London, and died a baronet of the United Kingdom. This appointment was one of the earliest made on the formation of the province by the first house of assembly that met in St. John, and was proposed to the legislative council on the 17th of January, 1786,

by the solicitor general, Ward Chipman, and Ebenezer Foster, one of the representatives for Kings county. The council concurred with the house of assembly in the appointment, and the Hon. Jonathan Odell and the Hon. Edward Winslow were appointed a committee to conduct correspondence with Mr. Watson. Brook Watson continued agent for the province until 1794, when he resigned, as his presence was required with the British forces then serving on the continent of Europe, and the thanks of both branches of the legislature of New Brunswick were tendered him for his patriotic exertions on behalf of the province. During his long and eventful life, Brook Watson continued on intimate terms with many of the leading loyalists who made New Brunswick their home, and took a deep interest in the settlement and prosperity of the province. A few months previous to his appointment as province agent, Brook Watson wrote the following letter to Edward Winslow, the original of which is still preserved among other papers by the descendants of that distinguished man in this province:

LONDON, 26th August, 1785.

Colonel Winslow:

DEAR SIR—The Gen'l Description of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick which you obligingly sent me under date of Ap'l ye 25th is by far the most regular and perfect thing of the kind I ever saw; its just the information I wanted, and arranged better than any ideas of mine could possibly suggest, and carries more convincing proof on its face than fifty speeches may in the House of Commons from the most respectable information. You have thereby put a Weapon, Offensive and defensive, into my hands, which may eventually intitle me to the honorable appelation of Champion for the remaining Provinces. Mr. Lambton has also obliged me with some observations made during his march to Passamaquody, by all which I clearly perceive the West India Isles will soon be amply supplied with all kinds of Lumber, White-oak staves excepted, and therein is indeed a great want, how it may be supplied I can't conceive, for I much fear the fine staves expected to supply their want will be found insufficient for the purpose; should it prove otherwise, I beg to be furnished with Authenticated Proof of it.

There is no reason to apprehend a free trade being allow'd between the British isle in the W. Indies and the American states. The eyes of this country have, thank God, been open'd to see the destructive tendency of such a measure, or will the duty on foreign oil be taken off or reduced, as it now stand it is an effectual Bounty to our own fisheries, and is severely felt by the American states. They complain, and I am glad they have cause for so doing. Their scheme of placing Nantuckett under our government is too flimsy an artifice to take, and the Quakers must move to one of the King's provinces if they mean to enjoy the blessings of his government and the benefits of our commerce.

The Province of Nova Scotia have at last forbid the Americans to Enter their Ports; had this wise step been earlier taken she would not have been drained of her money as has been the case. The States complain of being treated as Aliens, forgetting they made themselves such. If our Government act wisely, a Governor General will soon be sent to the remaining Provinces, who will work them to their own happiness and the good of the Empire, their neigbbours, like Vinager, fretting on their own Lees, will soon curse the Day which made them independent.

Farewel, Dr. Sr.,
Your faithful H'ble S'en,
BROOK WATSON.

"The Gen'l Description of the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick" referred to by the writer of this letter, and furnished by a man of acknowledged talent, as Edward Winslow, would be interesting and valuable to every student of provincial history.

WILLIAM KNOX OF LONDON

was appointed Brook Watson's successor, and Colonel Ludlow (Hon. Gabriel G. Ludlow) to "be a committee of the legislative council to correspond with the agent." At the following session of the legislative council, on the 5th March, 1795, the Hon. Edward Winslow, Hon. Jonathan Odell and the Hon John Saunders were added to the committee. And on the 16th of February, 1797, Thomas Knox, a son of William Knox, was appointed joint agent for the province with his father.

William Knox appears to have performed his duties as agent for New Brunswick satisfactorily, for at the session of 1801 it was "Resolved unanimously that the thanks of this house are due to Mr. Knox for his vigilant attention to the general interests of this colony." William Knox held the position until 1808, when he resigned. On retiring the thanks of the house of assembly was again tendered him and his son, Thomas Knox, for their faithful services as agent and joint agent of the province.

William Knox was under secretary of state for the American department in 1780, and suggested the division of Maine between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers into a province to be settled by loyal refugees, and to be called "New Ireland."

Colonel Edward Goldstone Lutwyche, the next resident agent for New Brunswick, was appointed on the 29th of July, 1808, and the Hon. George Leonard and Hon. Ward Chipman were appointed a committee to correspond with Colonel Lutwyche.

Colonel Lutwyche was born in the

province of Massachusetts bay, and in 1760, with his mother, Mrs. Sarah Lutwyche, removed from Boston to Merrimac, New Hampshire. He was a highly educated man and a lawyer by profession, and is supposed to have been a member of the New Hampshire colonial legislature from 1768 to 1775, as his name appears as a member of several committees of that body. At Merrimac he became a deacon of the Congregational church, and also colonel of the Fifth New Hampshire regiment of militia. When news reached Merrimac of the battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, Colonel Lutwyche was importuned by the officers and men of his regiment to march against the British, which he refused to do and tried to discourage others from going. Some time during the night of April 20th he left home clandestinely and joined General Gage in Boston, and at the evacuation of that city followed the British army to Halifax, Nova Scotia. In January, 1777, Colonel Lutwyche was at Long Island, New York, and during that year was married to Jane Rapelje of New York city. In 1780 Colonel Lutwyche, assisted in organizing in New York, among the loyalits who sought refuge in that city, a military organization known as "The Associated Refugees and Loyalists," and became, with the Hon. George Leonard, a member of the Board of Directors that controlled and guided the operations of the Associated Loyalists. On the evacuation of New York in 1783, Colonel Lutwyche went to England, and was granted a pension by the English government. His property was confiscated by the state of New Hampshire, and a ferry privilege owned by him at the crossing of the Merrimac river, between the towns Merrimac and Litchfield, was granted to the Hon. Mathew Thornton, a signer of the Declaration of independance, and the locality is now known as Thornton's ferry. The ferry privilege was afterwards restored to Mrs. Sarah Lutwyche. In 1778 Colonel Lutwyche, with other prominent Loyalists of New Hampshire, (including Governor Sir John Wentwort and Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford) was proscribed by the General Court of New Hampshire.

Colonel Lutwyche made his home in London, where he met many of the loyalists who visited the great metropolis, after the war, to press their claims against the government.

BETWEEN EDWARD WINSLOW

and Colonel Lutwyche there existed a strong friendship, and for many years previous to the latter's appointment as agent for New Brunswick he had been Winslow's confidential correspondent in London, and had assisted him in his claims on the British government and had pressed Winslow's appointment as a judge of the supreme court of this province on Lord Sheffield. Winslow was grateful for Colonel Lutwyche's services, and in a letter to Lord Sheffield, dated "Kingsclear, 20th August, 1807," thanking his lordship for the appointment, he makes this acknowledgement:

"My worthy and faithful friend, Lutwyche, has communicated the particulars of the negotiations which have been carried on in my favor, and truly, my lord, the perusal of 'em have excited a degree of sensibility beyond what I have ever before experienced. Well may that good man exclaim: 'Were all noblemen like Lord Sheffield, titles would be honorable indeed.'"

Writing to Winslow a few months before his appointment as agent for New Brunswick, Col. Lutwyche gives this information regarding the state of public feeling in England and the perils that menaced the British empire at that period in Europe as well as America, and which a few years afterwards culminated in war on this continent:

"The new state of things in Europe has affected this country in a peculiar manner. What will be the result is uncertain—tho' it is certain we are determined to hold out to the last—there is no abatement of the spirit or the exertions of the country.

"The Americans have taken a most favorable opportunity, it must be confessed, to gain some points; but they must not pull too hard, lest the string break; for tho' this country is sincerely desirous of avoiding a rupture with them, yet the ministry are determined not to sacrifice the honor or interest of it."

Colonel Lutwyche was a close observer of men, and his correspondence reveals many phases of life among the exiled Loyalists residing in England during that period. His letters are written in an easy, flowing style—though somewhat difficult to decipher—that mark the trained diplomat or man of the world; but all of them evince a knowledge of the subject in hand and a determination to accomplish, if possible, the matter undertaken.

Col. Lutwyche was agent for New Brunswick during a most critical period of its history. The embargo troubles with the United States began shortly after his appointment, and then the declaration of war followed. These events, with local provincial matters of grave importance, engrossed his attention in London, and also the attention of the committee of correspondence in this province, who appear to have reposed great confidence in his judgment and ability, as the following extract from a letter, addressed to him by the committee of correspondence from St. John, on the 26th of March, 1810, will testify:

"We have great satisfaction in informing you that the whole of the correspondence between you and the late committee of the council and assembly was taken into consideration at the late session of the General Assembly at Fredericton, and that your zealous attention to the interests of the

province, and judicious conduct in the discharge of your duties as the provincial agent from the time of your appointment, met their highest approbation, in testimony of which the sum of £200 sterling was granted to you for your past services; a remuneration, however inconsiderable in itself, exceeding the rate hitherto granted in any similar instance."

COLONEL LUTWYCHE

continued to discharge the duties of agent evidently to the satisfaction of the committee until his death, which occurred in London in the autumn of 1815. During the years that Colonel Lutwyche held the office of province agent he had many difficult and delicate missions to perform; but in all the negotiations he conducted with the home authorities he seems to have performed his part to the satisfaction of such exacting critics as Winslow, Leonard and Chipman. On several occasions he acted in conjunction with the celebrated Nathaniel Atcheson, who was then acting as agent for the province of Nova Scotia in London; and his intimate knowledge of and acquaintance with the leading public men in the British metropolis rendered him a valuable official for this young colony in those days of political intrigue.

On the 7th of March, 1816, Thomas Bonnor, of Spring Garden, was appointed province agent in London, and held the position until 1824 And on the 27th of that month Jno. Bainbridge and Henry Bliss were appointed joint agents for the province in the room of Thomas Bonnor.

John Bainbridge was an eminent London merchant, and had been for many years deputy chairman of the Society of British North American Merchants. He was well known to the province merchants of that day, and was held in high esteem. Henry Bliss was a son of the Hon. Jonathan Bliss, chief justice of New Brunswick from 1808 to 1822, and was born in St. John. He was a graduate of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, and became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, London, where he resided. Mr. Bliss was the author of several pamphlets on colonial questions, that created considerable discussion in the English as well as the provincial journals when issued. The most valuable contribution from Mr. Bliss' pen appeared in 1833, and was entitled "Statistics of the Trade, Industry and Resources of Canada and the Other Plantations in British America." Mr. Bliss wrote with great vigor and a keen appreciation of his subject, and his works are valuable as revealing an intimate knowledge of British American colonial trade during the first quarter of this century. He was agent also for the province of Nova Scotia for many years, and in his time was one of the best known colonial writers in London. Mr. Bliss' writings, with those of Sir Howard Douglas, Sir Brinton Haliburton, Nathaniel Gould and a host of others, would form a valuable library for perusal at this juncture, when the British possessions on the northern portion of this continent are assuming in the eyes of the world such vast magnitude, and giving strength and solidity to the British empire.

Henry Bliss died in England, regretted by many in his native province. The beautiful window in the chancel of Trinity church (the church of the loyalists) in St John was placed there by a brother—Lewis Bliss—in loving memory of the Hon. Jonathan Bliss and Mary Bliss, his wife, and of their sons, John Worthington Bliss, William Blowers Bliss and Henry Bliss.

——

NOTE—The writer is indebted to the Rev. Henry G. Jessop of Dartmouth college, Hanover, New Hampshire, for all the information relating to the early life of Colonel Edward T. Lutwyche contained in this paper, and gleaned from rare historical works in that gentleman's possession.

ST. JOHN, N. B., April, 1892.